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Submitting Material for Publication

We encourage our readers to consider submitting material on early North American numismatics to *CNL* for publication. In general, this includes coins, tokens, paper money, and medals that were current before the U. S. Federal Mint began operations in 1793. However, there are certain pieces produced after the 1793 date that have traditionally been considered part of pre-Federal numismatics and should be included. We cover all aspects of study regarding the manufacture and use of these items. Our very knowledgeable and friendly staff will assist potential authors to finalize submissions by providing advice concerning the text and help with illustrations. Submissions, in either electronic or hardcopy format, should be sent to the editor via the e-mail address given in the editorial or through the ANS at the above postal address.



Welcome to our final issue for the year. This issue consists of articles on a variety of subjects—from colonial paper money to St. Patrick coppers. Hopefully there is something of interest for everyone in this issue.

We start with three technical notes from David Gladfelter concerning the colonial paper money of New Jersey. His first submission, titled “New Jersey’s Numismatic Sun,” discusses a printer’s error found on the 1763 £3 bill. Interestingly, this bill was counterfeited and, believe it or not, the counterfeiters corrected the error. This report is followed by another technical note by David that illustrates an Andrew Bradford invoice to the Province of New Jersey. Bradford had printed the March 25, 1733, issue of New Jersey bills of credit. The invoice shows that John Peter Zenger, the printer and publisher of the *New-York Weekly Journal*, was involved in producing New Jersey’s bills of credit. Zenger is best known for his arrest and trial for criminal libel against New York’s royal governor, William Crosby. Zenger was acquitted because it was determined that he was telling the truth, which established our freedom of the press. A final technical note by David reports the discovery of a previously unknown merchant’s small change note. Dated February 23, 1775, and issued by Robert Drummond and Richard Ludlow of Acquackanonck, New Jersey, this three shilling note was payable in New York currency at their stores. The note was printed by Hugh Gaine, a prolific printer and publisher located in New York City who opened his business in 1752.

A discovery by watch collector Tom Brown sheds more light on the Mott token. Numisma-

tists have debated for years whether the token was produced in the year of its date, 1789, or if it was issued in the nineteenth-century and backdated to that year. It was even questionable as to who issued the token. Initially it was attributed to William and John Mott of New York City until it was learned that they were grocers. Then it was discovered that Jordan and James Mott were watch and clock makers and much more likely candidates. Tom acquired a pocket watch and in the back of the case he found several watch papers. One of the papers was issued by James S. Mott, the son of Jordan Mott. Importantly, the watch paper stated that their firm had been established in 1789, the same date on the token. Therefore, it does seem that the firm of Jordan and James Mott did issue the token and the date on the token commemorates the establishment of their business.

Last year, in conjunction with the annual C4 convention held in Boston, the Bostonian Society placed an historic marker to commemorate the John Hull mint. Established in 1652, this mint produced several denominations of silver coinage for over 30 years, including the well-known Pine Tree shilling. In association with the dedication ceremony of the historic marker, Lou Jordan, author of the book *John Hull, the Mint and Economics of Massachusetts Coinage*, presented a lecture at the convention describing why the mint was founded. We are pleased to present the full text of Lou’s well researched lecture along with added citations and footnotes.

On November 11, 2006, the American Numismatic Society held a Coinage of the Americas Conference (COAC) on the subject of the St. Patrick coinage. Oliver Hoover not only presented a paper at the conference but he also edited the proceedings. Thus, Oliver is well aware of the many issues concerning this enigmatic coinage. In the final article of this issue, Oliver examines the claim that on the coinage St. Patrick is shown wearing the vestments of an Anglican bishop although he was a Catholic saint.

In case you have not noticed, CNL is fast approaching a significant anniversary. Next

year marks 50 years of continuous publication. The *CNL* staff consists of dedicated people who are very knowledgeable in early American numismatics and who take pride in providing a quality journal to our readers. Over the past several decades *CNL* has published some of the most important research in pre-Federal numismatics and we look forward to continuing this work into the future. But we need the support of you, our readers, to continue this effort. So, keep submitting your work for publication, keep your subscriptions coming in, and spread the word to others that you feel would have an interest in our publication.

Gary Trudgen
gtrudgen@aol.com

NEW JERSEY'S NUMISMATIC SUN**by****David D. Gladfelter; Moorestown, NJ****(TN-206)****Introduction**

On August 12, 2006, I received a startling email message from Eric Newman, as follows:

Dear David: Just to shock you a little, I found that the large sun [symbol] on the NJ £3 bills reads NEW JERSEY SIX POUND in the perimeter circle. The two suns on the £6 have no legend.

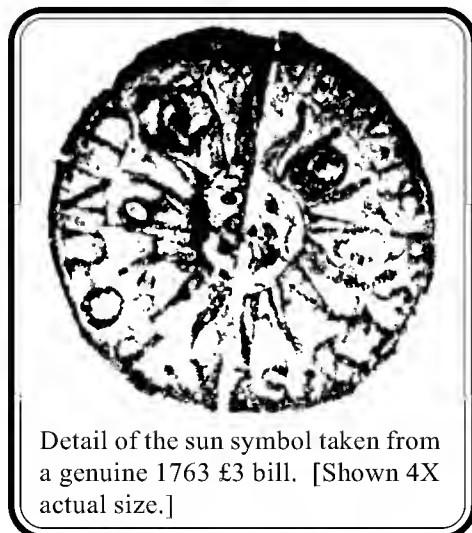
Newman was talking about the colonial-era paper money of my state, New Jersey. He was then working on the fifth edition of his treatise, *The Early Paper Money of America*, published late last year by Krause Publications, and was corresponding with collectors and researchers of the paper money issues of the various colonies and states in connection with this project. I was one of his New Jersey sources.

Placement of specified symbols on New Jersey bills of credit by their printers was called for by the provincial legislature in 1728. The purposes of the symbols, according to Newman, were to make the denominations easier to recognize and to deter alteration of the bills by raising their denomination. The designated symbol for the £3 denomination was a sun, that for the £6 denomination was two suns, and that for the 30 shilling bill (half the value of the £3) was a half sun. Newman discusses this topic in the introduction, on pages 28-29, where he illustrates a sketch of all nine of New Jersey's denominational symbols taken from the margin of a manuscript copy of this legislative act. Thus, according to the deterrence theory, if a £3 bill were to be raised to £6 (the highest denomination authorized), the raised bill might not be passed because, having only one sun, it would be detected and refused.

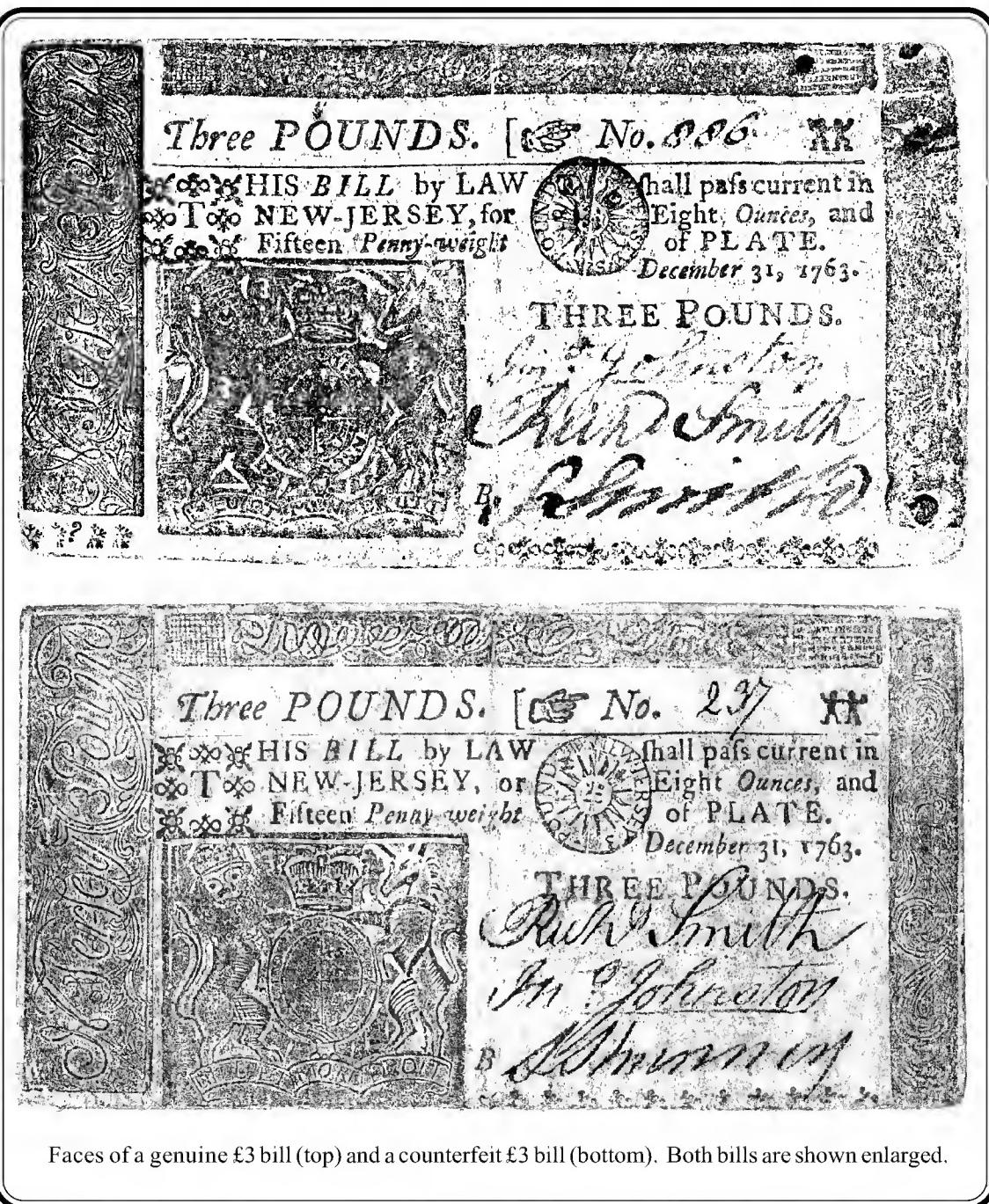
A Genuine £3 Bill of the December 31, 1763 Issue

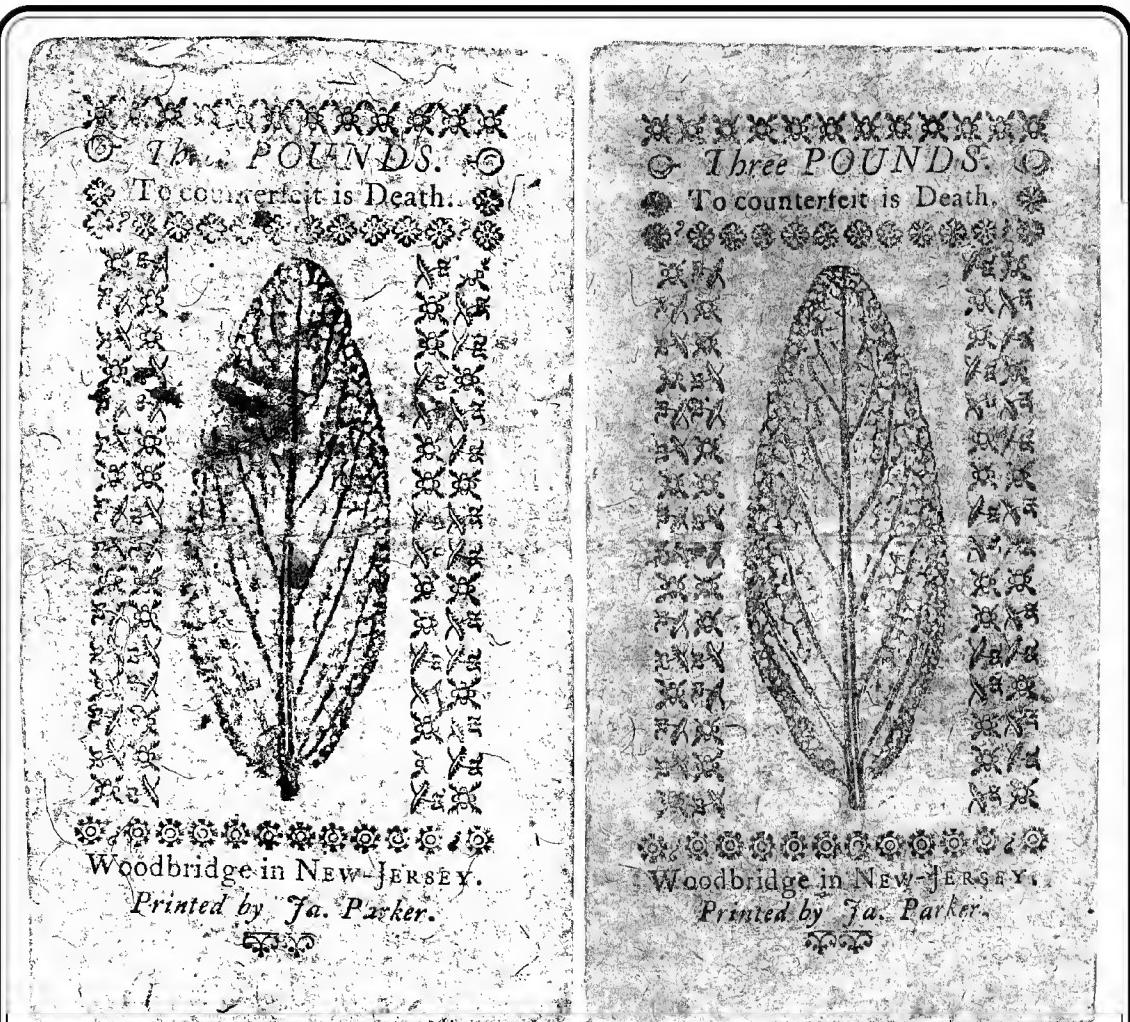
In catching the printer's error, Newman was right, of course. The error is hard to see on either of the two £3 bills of this period, illustrated in the treatise on pages 251 (1755) and 258 (1764).

You almost have to be looking for it to notice it. This error symbol, after having been repeatedly used by King's Printer James Parker on his 15 issues of bills of credit during the 1750s and 1760s, was "retired" after his final issue in 1764 and replaced by a new sun symbol cut without any perimeter inscription.



Illustrated herein is a £3 bill of the December 31, 1763 issue (along with its sister 30s denomination, these are unusual in that the backs are printed with the leaf stems pointing left, as on the 1781 and 1783 issues printed by Isaac Collins). Also illustrated is an enlarged detail of the sun symbol which clearly shows the erroneous perimeter language, with stops between the first and second, second and third, and third and fourth words.





Backs of the genuine £3 bill (left) and the counterfeit £3 bill (right). Both bills are shown enlarged but not at the same scale as on the previous page.

The sun symbol appearing on this bill, printed from the B plate, is from one of at least two cuts that were used by Parker during his official career to print bills of the £3 denomination. This symbol shows a vertical split. A cut showing a solid sun symbol, also having the SIX error, was used on the A plate of this issue. Newman has itemized the use of these two varieties of cuts on New Jersey £3 bills of all issues in personal correspondence (see Appendix). The earliest New Jersey £3 bill seen, the Ford specimen of the July 2, 1746 issue (Ford 3:687) printed by Benjamin Franklin, has a solid sun and shows the error. A 30s bill of the same issue with a half-sun symbol appearing to show only the "S" of SIX is illustrated in Newman.

Why might this error have occurred?

One can only make an assumption at this point because no surviving bills of credit are presently known from the 1728 issue, when the symbols would have first been used. From the public records of New Jersey we know that Andrew Bradford, printer of the March 25, 1733, issue next following that of 1728 (which had been printed by Franklin as the employee of contractor Samuel Keimer), invoiced the Province of New Jersey £15 on behalf of one Thomas Leech for engraving "1 sun and half sun." [See TN-207, page 3469, for a facsimile of the invoice.] Bills of the 30s and £3 denominations from the 1733 issue, on which Leech's cuts would have appeared, are presently unknown, and no £6 bills prior to 1756 are known to me. Ford's £6 bill of January 26, 1756 (Ford 3:690) has sun symbols without any perimeter language, as do all subsequently dated £6 bills.

So here is my thinking, not having seen the £6 bills of any 1728, 1733, 1737, 1746, or either of the 1755 issues:

Franklin would have prepared a mold of the sun symbol with the perimeter language. From it he would have cast two cuts, which he would have used in printing the 1728 £6 bills, on which the language NEW • JERSEY • SIX • POUND would have been appropriate. Then, being frugal, he would carefully have split one of the cuts vertically into two halves and used the resulting half-sun in printing bills of the 30s denomination (as seen on the July 2, 1746 issue printed by him). For the £3 denomination, he would have used both the intact cut and the rejoined split cut. Bradford would have done the same thing on the 1733 bills, using Leech's cuts. When Franklin got the contract back, in 1737 and 1746, he would have done the same thing before turning over these and other cuts to James Parker of Woodbridge. Parker continued to use them thereafter, but only on bills of the £3 denomination.

Something like the foregoing could have happened. Or the perimeter language could just have been a mistake.

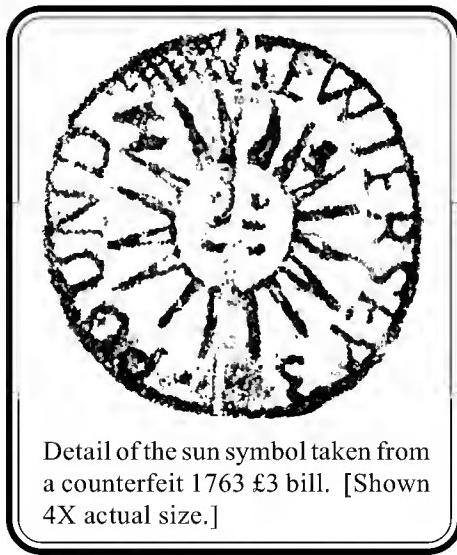
The 1763 Counterfeit

Another shocker came from Newman a few weeks later, along with scans of several bills from his collection, including the counterfeit £3 Plate B bill of December 31, 1763. He wrote:

£3 Counterfeit 12/31/1763 3 instead of SIX. Split symbol. The counterfeiters noticed the error (and corrected it).

Ironically, the counterfeit £3 can be distinguished from the original in that the sun symbol on the former shows the correct value and that on the genuine shows the erroneous value! This is a diagnostic feature and is mentioned in Newman's treatise on page 251, but not in the description of the counterfeit on page 471.

Late in 1760 or early in 1761, the split sun symbol suffered an injury, resulting in gashes below the D of POUND and the W of NEW that reproduce as blobs on the printed bills. The counterfeiter faithfully reproduced these gashes, as if they were an intentional element of the design.



Detail of the sun symbol taken from a counterfeit 1763 £3 bill. [Shown 4X actual size.]

To the best of my knowledge, a head to head photographic comparison of the genuine 1763 £3 bill printed from the B plate, and the counterfeit of that plate, has not been previously published, so these two bills are illustrated together here. As can be seen, the counterfeit is quite deceptive, and in some respects the quality of its printing is superior to that of the genuine. In addition to the corrected symbol, the counterfeit shows all of the features which Newman describes, plus this distinction: The signatures and serial number on the counterfeit are written in black ink with a fine-tip pen, whereas on the genuine bill they are written in brown ink with a broad-tip pen. Also observe the differences in the index symbol on the top line; on the genuine all five fingers show clearly, while on the counterfeit the pinky is rudimentary and the middle and ring fingers are long and pudgy.

These false £3 bills either did not appear in circulation right away, or were not immediately detected. Warnings to the public about them were published in *The New-York Gazette* and *The Weekly Mercury* on February 3, 1772, according to Kenneth Scott. These warnings stated that the perimeter language on the sun symbol was clear on the counterfeits but scarcely visible on the genuine and that "the bogus notes lacked two black spots on the right hand border near the upper and lower end of the true bills." The black spots referred to do not appear to be part of the border design but rather impressions from nail heads used to fasten the border cuts onto the blocks inserted into the printing form, and can be seen as well on genuine New Jersey bills of other denominations and issues. Scott reports that several months later, two persons were arrested in Rhode Island, whose confessions implicated a third counterfeiter in Connecticut and a fourth in New York. He names the suspects – James Bud, Lemuel Gustine, "one Wills" and William Hooker Smith – but does not tell us whether or not they were tried and convicted.

Another Counterfeit By the Same Gang

Scott states that "[t]he same gang may have turned out the false thirty-shilling (New Jersey) notes dated April 16, 1764 . . ." Newman reports four varieties of counterfeit 30s 1764 bills, two showing plate letter B and two showing plate letter G. One of the Plate B varieties, with the misspelling of "Shilligns" corrected, is illustrated herein, and does in fact show a close resemblance to the counterfeit 1763 £3 bill, particularly in the black ink, fine line false signatures. For comparison with a genuine 30s bill of 1764, see the illustration in the fourth edition of Newman's treatise at page 254 (plate F). Scott is doubtless correct, that the two counterfeits shown herein emanate from the same source.

Both of the counterfeit bills illustrated herein were obtained from reputable auction houses without having been identified as such. Strange to say, their genuine counterparts are readily available today; the counterfeits did not drive them out. The colonial authorities seem to have been reluctant to refuse acceptance of the counterfeits, perhaps out of concern for causing hardship to ordinary citizens, perhaps because of the scarcity of any circulating medium of



exchange. So the counterfeit bills remained in circulation alongside the genuine, even beyond their due dates, just as counterfeit and genuine coppers are known to have circulated together. In the end, all American paper money suffered severe depreciation during and after the Revolution, with the result that many issues, instead of having been redeemed and destroyed, remained outstanding, and are consequently available to today's collectors.

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Kenneth Scott, "Counterfeiting in Colonial New Jersey." 75 *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 170, 177 (July 1957).

Original invoice from Andrew Bradford to Province of New-Jersey, 1p, undated (1733). Author's collection.

Catalog of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part 3. (New York, Stack's, May 11, 12, 2004).

Appendix

Observed Sun Symbols on New Jersey £3 Bills of Credit

<u>Issue date</u>	<u>Plate letter</u>	<u>Solid or split</u>
7/2/46	A	Unknown
	B	Solid
5/15/55	A	Unknown
	B	Solid
9/8/55	A	Split
	B	Unknown
1/26/56	A	Solid
	B	Unknown
6/22/56	A	Solid
	B	Split
4/12/57	A	Split
	B	Solid
6/14/57	A	Solid
	B	Split
11/20/57	A	Split
	B	Solid
5/1/58	A	Solid
	B	Solid (?)
10/20/58	A	Split
	B	Unknown
4/10/59	A	Solid
	B	Split
4/12/60	A	Solid
	B	Split
4/23/61	A	Solid
	B	Split
4/8/62	A	Solid
	B	Split
12/31/63	A	Solid
	B	Split
4/16/64	A	Split
	B	Solid
	None	Split and Solid*
	D	Solid

* Variety without period after POUNDS in top line has split sun, that with period has solid sun.

JOHN PETER ZENGER'S NEW JERSEY NUMISMATIC CONNECTION

by

David D. Gladfelter; Moorestown, NJ**(TN-207)**

John Peter Zenger, printer and fearless publisher of the *New-York Weekly Journal* in the 1730s, is best known for having established the legal principle that truth is a defense to a suit for libel. As a result of his scathing exposés of the corrupt administration of New York's royal governor, William Cosby, Zenger was charged with criminal libel and tried in 1735 before a jury in City Hall, then located at Wall and Nassau Streets where Federal Hall now stands. He was represented by Andrew Hamilton, who argued that Zenger's cause was "not [that] of a poor printer, nor of New York alone, which you are trying ... [but] the cause of liberty" Zenger admitted that he had published the offensive statements, but claimed that they were true, and that as a free man he had the right to criticize the government. Hamilton argued that his client could not be convicted of libel for telling the truth. In acquitting Zenger the jury refused to follow British legal precedent, thereby setting the cornerstone of our cherished freedom of the press.

It is known that Zenger's contracts included printing the December 10, 1737 issue of New York bills of credit. See Eric P. Newman, *The Early Paper Money of America*, 5th ed. (Iola, Krause Publications, 2008), page 279. It is also known that after his trial, Zenger returned to his shop and received some contracts for official printing for the colonies of New York and New Jersey. But until the recent discovery of a single page invoice for "engraving two Coats of Arms and blocking the same for the New Jersey Money," it was not known that the illustrious Zenger had a numismatic connection to New Jersey. This invoice, written by Andrew Bradford and submitted to the "Province of New Jersey, Dr. [debtor]", was for £2/10/0, or as then written, "2:10:0" (two pounds, ten shillings) (apparently payable in New Jersey's money of account, not in sterling).

If Zenger was Bradford's subcontractor, it could only have been for the printing of New Jersey's 6th issue of bills of credit, dated March 25, 1733, prior to Zenger's trial. This was the only issue Bradford printed according to Newman, *op. cit.*, page 250. Only two surviving examples of this issue are known to me. By far the finer is Ford 3:685, the Newman Plate specimen, hammered down cheap at \$15,000 (not to me unfortunately).

The Bradford invoice is a fugitive from the New Jersey public records, probably thrown out many years ago but rescued. It surfaced in a box of miscellaneous old documents in a Bowers sale some years ago and was purchased by Tony Terranova who donated it to the ANS Library benefit auction at the 2005 ANA convention in Pittsburgh. It was bid in by yours truly and will not go back to the public records – they had their chance.

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James Alexander, *A brief narrative of the case and trial of John Peter Zenger, printer of the New York Weekly Journal*. Stanley Nider Katz, editor. (Cambridge, MA, Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1963.) This is an eyewitness account of the trial, originally published in 1736, the year following it.

George Frederick Kolbe, *The American Numismatic Society Library Chair Endowment Benefit Public and Mail Bid Auction*. (Pittsburgh, August 19, 2004.) The final lot, No. 50, was the Bradford invoice.

Province of New Jersey Dr
To Captain John Peter Zenger for
Ingraving two Coats of Arms and
Blocking the same for the New Jersey Money } 2:10:0

Andrew Bradford

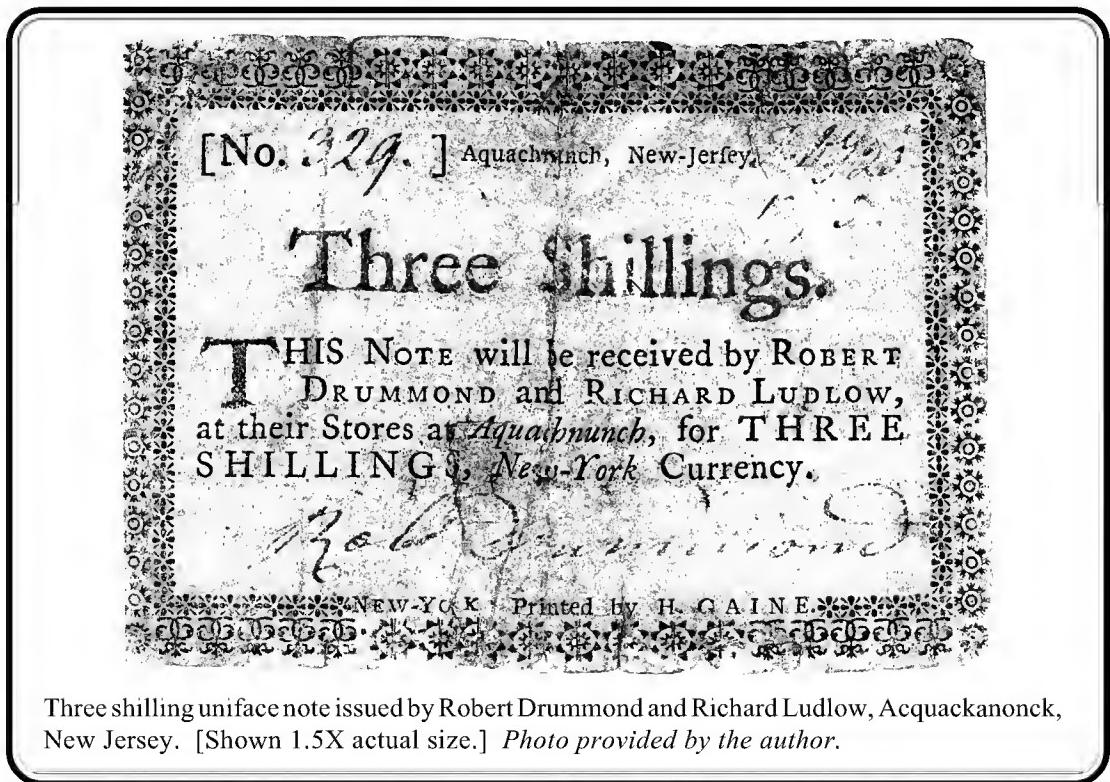
Province of New Jersey Dr
To Bishop Roberts
To Ingraving five Coats of Arms for
the New Jersey Paper Money at Three
Pounds a piece (as he charges) - - - } 15:0:0

Province of New Jersey Dr
To Thomas Leech for Ingraving
70 36 Borders - - -
To 2 Coat of Arms - - - }
To 1 Sun and half Sun - - - }
To Blocking &c - - - } 15: 0 0

The Particulars given under
Tho: Leech own hand - }

A NEW JERSEY DISCOVERY
by
David D. Gladfelter; Moorestown, NJ

(TN-208)



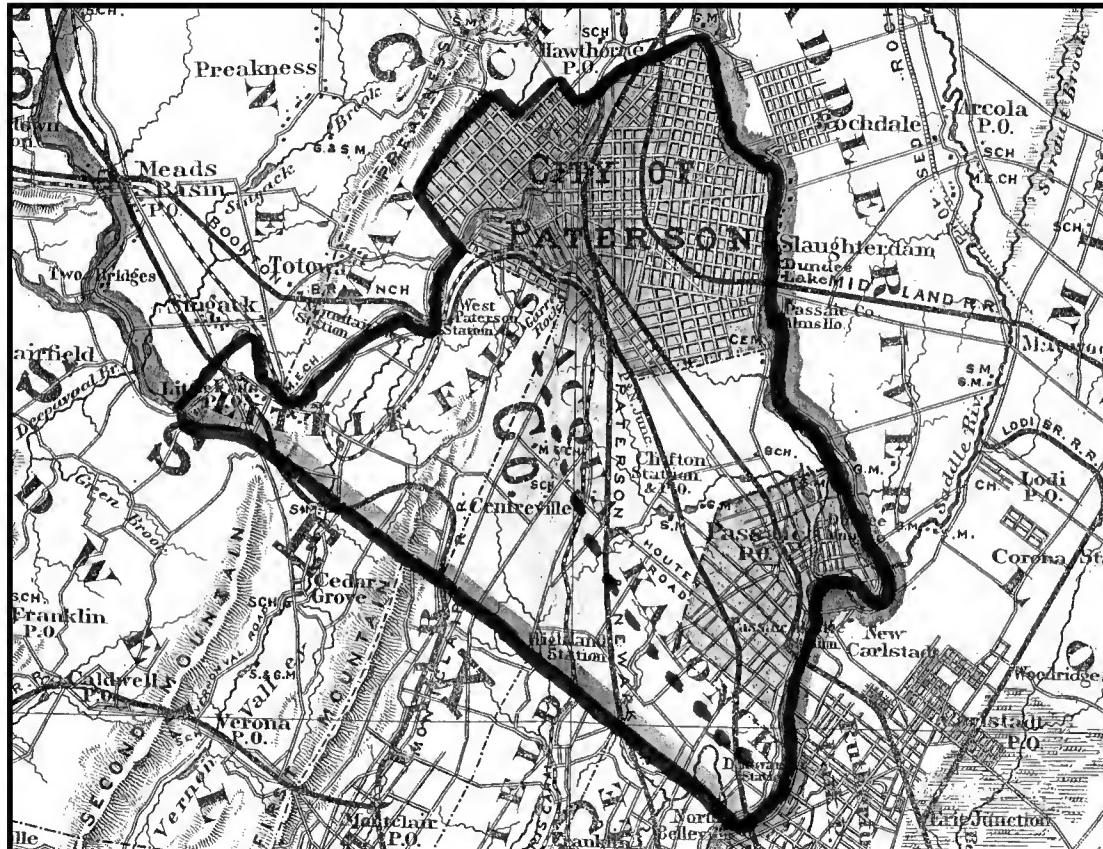
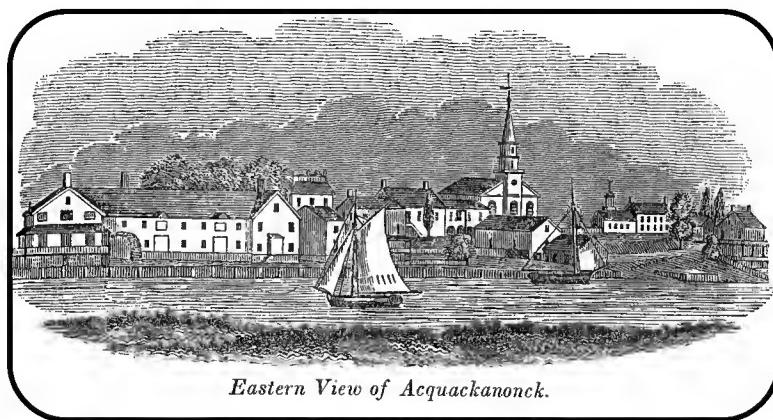
Showed here is the newly discovered small change note of Robert Drummond and Richard Ludlow, merchants of "Aquachnunch" (Acquackanonck), New-Jersey. Its denomination is three shillings, which is printed boldly across the face in red; the rest of this uniface note is in black. It carries the printer's imprint of Hugh Gaine of New-York, the signature of Drummond, the serial number 329, and at the upper right, what appears to be the handwritten date of "Feby. 23, 1775". If I read this partly scuffed date correctly (and it does coincide with what little is known of the careers of these merchants, as well as that of the printer), this note would be the fourth earliest of New Jersey's revolutionary-era private merchant scrip, and one of only four such issues prior to independence.

Tom Denly had this note in stock at the June 2009 show in Baltimore. Tom and I were both stumped as to what it was. He told me that it walked in off the street with no provenance whatever. The denomination and other aspects of the note looked colonial, so I took a gamble on it. Back home with a strong magnifier, I was able to make out the faint date, one letter or digit at a time. After that, other details fell into place.

You can be forgiven if you have never heard of Acquackanonck before. The town no longer exists, although it was important in colonial times. It was located on the Passaic River, the town center being about five miles below the Great Falls at a point where the river met the tide, making it a natural port for shipping. It was settled and named by the native Lenni Lenape; the name means

"a place in a rapid stream where fishing is done with a bush-net." Thirty-one different spellings are given by Nelson and Shriner, not including the spelling uniquely used on this note. (In this article, I am using the official spelling adopted by mid-nineteenth century). The Lenni Lenape, in exchange for a parcel of "Coates, Blankets, kettles, powder, and other Goods," deeded the tract to Dutch settlers in 1679 and it became one of the original townships of Essex County. The city of Paterson was carved out of it in 1831. Six years later, it was taken from Essex County and put into the newly formed Passaic County. The city of Passaic was taken out in 1866, reducing its

size to just over 22 square miles. Creation of Little Falls in 1868 further reduced its size by nearly half. What was left became the city of Clifton in 1917. The riverfront view and the map show the town and environs as they appeared circa 1850. From the description in Nelson and Shriner, I have sketched in its approximate boundary as of 1775.



Acquackanonck riverfront view (above). Source: *Historical Collections of the State of New Jersey*. Map showing the approximate boundary of Acquackanonck. Source: *State Atlas of New Jersey*.

Richard Ludlow kept a country general store on River Road and became a leading merchant. His son John continued to operate the store and also opened a shipping business, "buying and shipping to market large quantities of hoop-poles, staves, barrel heads, and other products of the region." Robert Drummond was a Loyalist merchant and ship owner who lived and worked in the Passaic City portion. They may have kept their own separate stores, each signing his own scrip notes (notice that the literal language on this note is in the plural — "at their stores"). Or they may have jointly operated more than one store. Sixty years later, the town had six stores, several mills and about 80 dwellings. The precise locations of the Ludlow and Drummond stores have not yet been found.

Both men were among a "General Committee" elected by residents of the township to attend a "convention of deputies" that took place in May 1775, to discuss trade issues with Great Britain and the forming of militias. Drummond, speaker of the Provincial Congress in 1775, was a British sympathizer who placed his services at the disposal of the King when active hostilities began. He organized the second battalion of New Jersey (Loyalist) Volunteers and was commissioned major. After the war, he went to England with his wife, Jannetje Vreeland Drummond, and died there in 1789. Their portraits are taken from Nelson and Shriner.

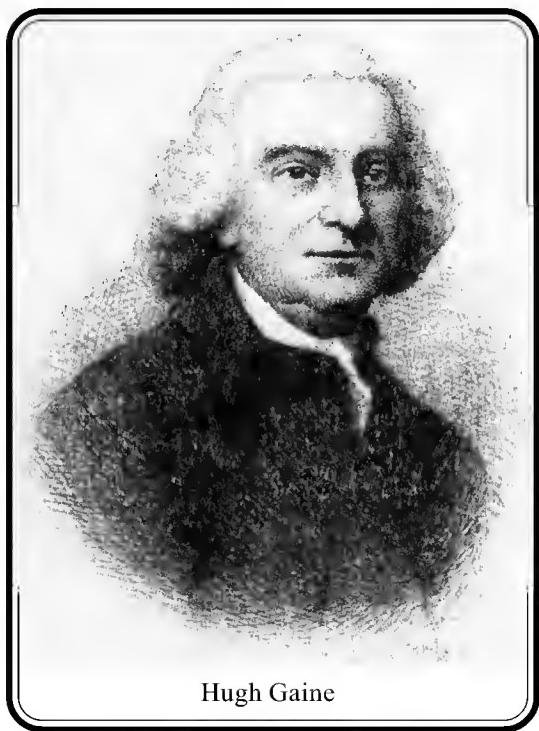


MRS. ROBERT DRUMMOND.



MAJOR ROBERT DRUMMOND.

Hugh Gaine (1726-1807), a native of Belfast, Ireland, worked in James Parker's print shop in New York and opened his own shop there in 1752. He published a newspaper there from 1752 to 1783, and printed the bills of credit issued by New York pursuant to the acts of February 16, 1771 and February 8, 1788, the third New York City Water Works issue of January 6, 1776, and the City of New York 1d, 2d and 3d small change notes issued February 20, 1790. Gaine's imprint is on all but the first of the issues listed above. His press is said to have been "the most prolific of its time in New York," including among its publications philosophical and literary works, almanacs, song books and legislative proceedings. He published the first American edition of *Robinson Crusoe*, as well as a compilation of the laws of the State of New-York, a copy of which was



Hugh Gaine

specially bound and presented to General Washington. Gaine's portrait is taken from Hildeburn.

The term "New-York currency" refers to New York's money of account, which at the time was worth slightly less than New Jersey's, which was "proclamation money" or inflated one-third above sterling; New-York currency however was worth more than "Jersey light," which was valued at 8 shillings per ounce of silver (compared with 6 shillings per ounce for "proc" and 4s6d for sterling). McCusker says, "Given the same sum of money in all three currencies, the New York money would buy more sterling than Jersey light and less sterling than pounds proclamation." Accounts in and around Paterson, being physically close to New York, were frequently stated in New York money. Examples are given in Nelson and Shriner with dates ranging from 1695 to 1772.

Should the person from whom Tom Denly obtained this Drummond and Ludlow note happen to read this article, he or she is urged to get in touch with me through the editor of *CNL* so that its provenance may be traced and published. My guess is that, like so many of our other historical documents, this note was saved as a souvenir by members of the Drummond family and passed down through the years, eventually winding up in the hands of someone who had no idea of its history and therefore was willing to part with it.

The note has been cared for, as can be seen by the mended vertical split into its center. And it does have a story to tell.

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JAMES S. MOTT WATCH PAPER

from

Tom Brown; Farmington, NM
[Member Internet Horology Club 185]

(TN-209)



There has been considerable debate among numismatists concerning who produced the 1789-dated Mott token. In 1859, Charles Bushnell suggested that the firm of William and John Mott issued the token. However, in early 1988, Dave Bowers discovered that in 1789 William and John Mott were listed as grocers and wondered if they were really the firm that issued a clock and watch making token.¹ Later that year, Eric Newman discovered that Jordan and James S. Mott were clock and watch makers according to the 1834 *New York City Register* and suggested a systematic search of all earlier registers might yield more information.² In 1998, Angel Pietri, in his paper titled "The Mott Token Revisited," discovered that Jordan Mott appeared as a watchmaker as early as 1796, but was not able to directly link the firm to the 1789 date found the token.³ Pietri suspected that Jordan Mott, who was born in 1768, had completed his apprenticeship at age 21, which would have occurred in 1789, but had no evidence to support this theory.

Recently, Tom Brown, a watch collector, contacted Lou Jordan concerning a watch he is researching. Tom stated that the watch was made in London, England, in 1813 by a watchmaker by the name of Bridges, but the case for the watch was made in Birmingham, England. At this time it was not uncommon for watchmakers to get their cases from different sources. The watch was then exported to the United States and sold to someone who lived in the New London, Connecticut, area. In the back of the watch case Tom found watch papers which were put there when the watch was repaired by the firm making the repair. One of the watch papers indicates the watch was either sold or repaired by James S. Mott, the son of Jordan Mott. Importantly, this watch paper states that Jordan Mott established his business in 1789, the same date as on the Mott token. The watch had additional watch papers for watchmakers in New London showing that the watch was serviced in the 1830s, 1860s, and 1890s. The watch along with the watch papers can be viewed at www.ihc185.com on the Internet.

1 Q. David Bowers, "Re-evaluating a Famous American Token: the Mott Token Gives Up its Secrets," *Rare Coin Review* no. 67 (Winter, 1987/8) pp. 60-63.

2 Eric Newman, "Did the Mott Firm Deal in Clocks in 1789?" *Rare Coin Review* no. 69 (Summer, 1988) p. 57.

3 Angel Pietri, "The Mott Token Revisited," *The C4 Newsletter, Colonial Coin Collectors Club*, vol. 6, no. 3 (Fall, 1998) pp. 25-43.



James S. Mott Watch Paper

Shown enlarged. The actual size is approximately 2.1 inches in diameter. The brown stained area is from the spring release that was put into these types of cases (pair case). The case is sterling silver but the spring was made of iron and rusts over time, staining the paper. *Image provided by the author.*



Watch paper shown in the back of the watch case. The upper portion of the spring appears to the right of the stained area. Under the watch paper are hallmarks that date the case and its place of manufacture. *Image provided by the author.*

The central legend on the James S. Mott watch paper reads:

JAMES S. MOTT
Son of
Jordan Mott
Established 1789
Clock & Watch
Maker
Pearl 266 Street
Corner of Fulton Str.
New York

The outer rim legend reads:

Patent Levers & English Watches, Jewelry & Silver Ware. The same guaranteed.

The inner rim legend reads:

Importers Levers & English Watches [Direct] from the Liverpool & London Factories.

This watch paper is the first evidence to come to light that the Jordan Mott clock and watch making firm was actually established in 1789. Thus it appears that the Jordan and James S. Mott firm did issue the Mott token and further suggests the 1789 date commemorates the establishment of the business.

On the Founding of the Hull Mint
by
Louis Jordan; South Bend, IN

*A lecture presented in conjunction with the dedication ceremony for the Hull Mint historic marker.
See Appendix B on page 3487 for a photo of the marker.*

The decade from the founding of Boston in 1630 was a time of phenomenal population growth, known as the Great Migration, with over 21,000 English settling in Massachusetts Bay. Very soon it became clear that Massachusetts was far surpassing the older colony at Plymouth. During this decade colonists brought their belongings, including some English coinage with them. Archaeological recoveries of coins from English colonial sites dating to this era are primarily smaller denomination coins of a shilling or less in value and indicate that the majority of the available coinage was English, with some foreign coins and tokens added to the mix.¹

At that time Massachusetts Bay consisted of a few towns with little industry. Many necessities, such as cloth, clothing, shoes, iron tools, nails and a host of other manufactured items were not available locally. Colonists had to purchase these goods from English merchants who shipped wares to Boston and sold them for silver money from the wharf in Boston Harbor. Most of the coinage in the colony quickly found its way back to England in payment for these imported goods.² While specie was used to acquire goods from outside merchants, internal exchanges between colonists usually involved a money substitute. Individuals would exchange promissory notes stating that for a product or for some service performed the recipient would pay the provider a certain sum in the future, usually at harvest time. To facilitate such transactions, Massachusetts Bay annually set an official rate for specific items that could be used when making a payment. As early as 1631, the General Court decreed that merchantable Indian corn was payable at the market rate for all debts unless the agreement had expressly stated payment would be made in coin or beaver skins. A few years later, due to disputes over the precise market price, the General Court annually published the value of commodities when used as money substitutes. The earliest surviving rates, for 1634-1636, are limited to merchantable Indian corn at 5s per bushel, but later ratings from 1642, included more such as a bushel of wheat or barley at four shillings (4s), a bushel of rye or peas at three shillings four pence (3s4d), while Indian corn was rated at two shillings six pence (2s6d). Actual payments were transacted using these products, called commodity money, with larger value exchanges paid in cattle and for small change the colonists turned to wampum. During the earlier years, however, beaver pelts were used and occasionally items were simply traded by barter.³

1 Jordan, "Coinage," pp. 191-227

2 Jordan, "Coinage," pp. 227-28

3 Shurtleff, *Records*, vol. 1, pp. 92, 140, 180 and vol. 2, p. 27. Generally, individual payments over £10 would be made in cattle or beef rather than crops because of the additional costs to both parties related to transfers of large quantities of produce. The individual making the payment would incur transportation costs along with any charges for product loss during shipment, while the recipient would incur costs related to examining and weighing the product at the time of transfer as well as the cost of providing sufficient containers to hold the crops and adequate storage facilities necessary for acceptance of large quantities of crops. For instance, we see among the Harvard student payments that in 1655, an undergraduate named Walvar made a payment of twenty bushels of Indian corn for a total value of £3 (720d) for which he incurred a charge of 4s2d (50d or 2.5d per bushel) for transporting the corn from Boston to Cambridge, while previously, on February 3, 1654, the same student had paid with two barrels of beef, valued at £7 (1680d), incurring a transportation charge from Boston to Cambridge of only 1s4d (16d or 8d per barrel). Thus, the cost was just about 16d 2.7f to transport each £1 in corn, while it only cost only slightly over 2d 1.1f to transport each £1 in beef. (Morison, *Harvard College Records*, III, p. 125-28). With the exception of significant purchases of produce by merchants for resale or trade, commodity crop transactions of more than forty or fifty bushels were prohibitive. On the value of cattle see Anderson, "Livestock," pp. 602-4.

For a decade the Massachusetts Bay coin supply did not dry up because, as more colonists arrived in Boston with their life's savings, the meager money supply was replenished. This precarious cycle came to a halt in 1640. Although some English coinage continued to be available after 1640, that year was a defining moment in the history of the Massachusetts Bay economy. Major transformations were set in motion that can be viewed as the initial steps leading to the founding of the Massachusetts mint.

Depression and Recovery

In November 1640, the anti-royalist Long Parliament assembled in London and quickly took control of governmental affairs, giving hope to Puritans in England that long awaited reforms would finally be implemented. This political event immediately ended the Great Migration. Without new colonists arriving, there was no replenishment of the English money supply to pay for needed imports and Massachusetts Bay sunk into an economic depression.

Several projects were implemented at that time to redirect the Massachusetts economy. One of these initiatives was a shift in its concentration from constructing houses to building ships. In February 1641, a 300-ton ship was constructed in Salem and soon thereafter the people of Boston began work on a 150-ton vessel. This was the first step toward developing a new economy with commercial fishing and the entrance into the international import and export trade. That same year John Turner of Roxbury took a small pinnace of 15 tons to the West Indies, and, in the words of John Winthrop, "returned with great advantage in indigo, and pieces of 8, etc." The next summer five more ships were built, three in Boston, including the 200-ton merchant ship *Trial*, one in Dorchester and another in Salem. As late as 1639, Massachusetts Bay had imported cod from Richmond Island in Maine and other northern fisheries. By the early 1640s Massachusetts became an exporter of cod and was positioning itself to become a significant merchant center for the transportation of commodities to and from the West Indies and beyond. In 1643, Boston merchants sent the *Trial* to the distant island of Fayal in the Azores with a cargo of salt cod and barrel staves that were traded for wine. The ship then continued to the island of St. Christopher (St. Kitts) in the Caribbean where some wine was traded for cotton and tobacco. The following year the *Trial* transported salt cod to Bilbao, Spain, then sailed down to Málaga before returning to Boston with wine, fruit, oil, iron and wool; and in the following year Boston merchants traveled to the Canary Islands where they entered the highly profitable slave trade.⁴

Several references to Spanish-American silver are found in Massachusetts Bay documents from the 1640s and later periods, indicating that the depleted supply of English money was being replenished with foreign coins, particularly Spanish-American cobs. We can see the General Court's attitude toward these coins shift in the early 1640s. As late as the General Court Order of May 13, 1640, Spanish-American silver was still rated at par with London at 4s4d (52d) per eight-reales. There was no attempt to retain cob silver in the colony, rather it was viewed as a trade coin to be used for foreign payments and thus was valued at the English rate. This rating was endorsed in Massachusetts Bay just a few months before the Long Parliament was called

4 Jordan, "Coinage," pp. 229-34; Bailyn, *New England Merchants*, pp. 75-111 and, on the fishing industry, Vickers, *Farmers and Fishermen*, pp. 91-108. Also, on the diversification of the economy see, Newell, *From Dependency to Independence*, pp. 52-71 and McWilliams, *Building the Bay Colony*, particularly pp. 50-62, who emphasizes that during the 1640s Massachusetts did not immediately flower into a preeminent maritime export-oriented economy. Creating a strong maritime economy was a slow process that developed over several decades. Much effort during the decade of the 1640s was spent building a local infrastructure, as is vividly described by Johnson in his paragraph on tradesmen, quoted in the appendix. Clearly, by 1650 both the maritime trading economy and the local economy were growing. The point I wish to make here is that the nascent maritime trade was the means by which Spanish-American silver was brought to Massachusetts. However, once in the Bay, the General Court used this silver to assist in the continued growth of local infrastructure. Massachusetts coinage was created to foster the local economy not international trade.

in London, the event that ended the great Puritan migration and ushered in the first depression in Massachusetts Bay. However, two years later, as the colony was recovering from the depression, the situation dramatically changed. In June 1642, and again three months later in September, the value of the eight-reales was advanced by the General Court in two 4d increments from 4s4d (52d) to 5s (60d). Cob coinage was coming into the colony, as we have seen in the 1641 expedition of John Turner, and the General Court was advancing the value of Spanish-American silver to attract more silver into Massachusetts Bay. By making the coinage worth 60d in Massachusetts, it was thought people would keep the money locally, rather than spend it with foreign merchants who would only accept it at the London rate of 52d. The idea was to retain what silver was in the colony and to attract more silver by offering a higher rate of return than would be found elsewhere.

The records of the Boston notary, William Aspinwall, survive for the period 1644-1651, listing hundreds of contracts, many of which relate to the West Indies trade. Several of these documents include payments in commodities or money, without mentioning the specific type of money to be used, but some specify Spanish dollars, as the accounts of Thomas Babb for 1644 and 1649. Among other documents, there is an invoice from 1648 of which £20 10s11d was to be paid in pieces-of-eight rated at 5s each (82 cobs) with the remaining 11d to be paid in wampum; also, there is a bill of exchange from 1649 payable in Barbados for 100 pieces-of-eight. Coin was not only in the cities but also out in the townships as we see in a letter of November 4, 1646, from Richard Leader, agent of the Saugus Ironworks, stating "It is true, some men have here Spanish mony sometimes." Indeed, by 1646 the General Court deemed the quantity of Spanish-American silver in Massachusetts Bay to be sufficient to repeal a law of 1641 that had allowed employers to pay workmen in corn rather than money, regardless of the stipulations in the original agreement, stating that "from henceforth all bargaines made for mony shall be performed & paid in mony." The quantity of Spanish-American cob money in Massachusetts Bay increased substantially throughout the decade of the 1640s.⁵

Massachusetts Bay and Boston in 1651

Edward Johnson, a founder and selectman of Woburn and also their militia captain and representative to the General Court, wrote a book on Massachusetts Bay between 1649 and early 1651. It is the best extant description of the Commonwealth on the eve of the foundation of the mint. Johnson marveled at the progress Massachusetts Bay had made, especially the maritime development of Boston citing the many ships built there and the many seamen that had been recruited. Boston, which had started as a poor country village in 1630, had in the space of twenty-one years become a small municipality that would soon be considered by the General Court for incorporation into a mayoral city. Besides Boston, the port towns of Charlestown, Salem, and Ipswich also experienced rapid growth, progress that was chiefly attributable to the wealth earned as merchant carriers in the overseas trade [the passages from Johnson are quoted in Appendix A].

Johnson described Boston as a city-like town with a dense population along the coastline (from the North End to the downtown) with an impressive array of costly wharfs. There were several large elegant buildings, not just of wood, but substantial structures of brick, tile, stone and slate were constructed as the development boom continued during this period of expansion. The town buzzed with industry. All kinds of ships were built in Massachusetts which had a ready supply of pine tar and long pine masts, resources that were sought by all seafaring nations. Massachusetts fishermen prospered as they exported an abundance of salt cod to many distant ports.

⁵ Jordan, "Coinage," pp. 234-37. The letter by Leader is quoted in Shurtleff, *Records*, vol. 3, p. 92.

Foreign merchantmen flying French, Portuguese and Dutch flags also participated in this trade landing diverse cargoes in Boston until prohibited by the Navigation Acts of October 1651.

Full time tradesmen in Boston included coopers, tanners, shoemakers, tailors, carpenters, joiners (builders assistants), glass makers, painters, gunsmiths, locksmiths, blacksmiths, iron nail producers, knife makers, weavers, brewers, bakers, grocers, cloth makers, brass and pewter workers, pot and kettle menders, rope makers, stonemasons, lime, brick, and tile makers, makers of wool cards, lathe workers, makers of hand pumps, wheelwrights, glove makers, dealers in pelts, fur hat and coat makers as well as various general shopkeepers and shopkeepers with distinctive skills such as wine merchants. Boston was clearly a bustling city with a large number of specialized craftsmen, shopkeepers and seamen who did not make their living from farming. This was not a primitive barter economy but a sophisticated and dynamic economic system based on personal credit, with local payments in state rated commodity monies, foreign coin and country pay, while international payments were based on bills of exchange, specie payments and exchanges of goods.

Massachusetts Bay was not constrained by the English government. The Massachusetts Puritans were certainly pleased by the capture and execution of King Charles I and the establishment of the English Commonwealth in 1649. They felt freer to assert rights and liberties without fear of transgressing royal prerogatives or privileges. Massachusetts Bay aggressively asserted itself in numerous ways. During the General Court session of October, 1651, commissioners were appointed with the task of annexing Maine to Massachusetts Bay. Between 1652 and 1653 the towns of Kittery, York, Wells, Saco and Kennebunkport were annexed; then in 1658, Casco Bay (Portland) and the surrounding area was added. Maine became the county of Yorkshire in Massachusetts Bay. During this period Massachusetts also claimed settlements in New Hampshire as well as parts of Connecticut and Rhode Island. In the General Court session of May 1652 a law was instituted requiring all inhabitants to take an oath of loyalty to Massachusetts Bay which previously was only required of freemen. Also, among other legislation passed during that session of the General Court was the expansion of the militia from a single company into four; additionally, the General Court passed an act to establish a mint to produce silver shilling, sixpence and threepence coins. It is sometimes suggested the mint experienced political problems because it did not seek permission from the English government. This is simply not the case. In fact, the English Commonwealth supported the mint and seven years later, in 1659, also allowed Lord Baltimore to move forward with his coinage venture for Maryland. Further, the English government bolstered the Massachusetts Bay economy by purchasing supplies for the navy and regularly acquiring large pine masts for shipbuilding. English naval procurement officers frequented Massachusetts and were even authorized to accept Massachusetts coinage (but at sterling rates).⁶

Rational and mission of the mint

With a rapidly expanding economy, growing political ambitions and a Puritan controlled Commonwealth government in England, we have seen that Massachusetts Bay undertook several new initiatives. The primary rationale for the mint initiative was to stimulate the local economy. The General Court of Massachusetts Bay understood that providing a reliable supply of government-authorized coinage would facilitate transactions so local shopkeepers and tradesmen could flourish. Reliable coinage meant coins that were not excessively clipped and thus significantly underweight and coins that were not counterfeit. Both excessive clipping and counterfeiting were problems regularly encountered with the Spanish-American Mexican cobs that traded in Massachusetts Bay at that time.

⁶ Jordan, John Hull, pp. 27-45.

Since the goal was to facilitate local trade, the denominations were limited to shillings, sixpence and threepence. They did not consider minting higher denominations such as the crown (5s) or half-crown (2s6d), even though the larger coins would yield higher per unit minting profits than smaller denominations. The shilling was an adequately high denomination for internal daily transactions involving local shopkeepers and craftsmen.

The problems with counterfeit, lightweight and clipped cobs that circulated during this era are well known since hardly any full weight issues could be found. Also, counterfeit coins "in brasse or copper" made an appearance, as reported in Bermuda in the Council Minutes of April 1653. Additionally, Hull mentioned in his private diary (started around 1654) that one reason for establishing the mint was "upon occasion of much Counterfeit Coyne brought in the Country and much loss accruing in that respect...." I should point out that recently Phil Mossman has convincingly repudiated the theory that the counterfeit cobs that had invaded Boston commerce were comprised of the debased cobs from the Potosí mint scandal brought to light in 1648. The problem centered on lightweight clipped coinage and true counterfeits rather than coins from this infamous debasement. For ease of exchange, shopkeepers preferred coins of a reliable fineness that could be traded by tale or piece rather than by weight. Unfortunately, Massachusetts Bay did not have a local source of silver to supply their mint, nor did they have the funds to pay for a minting operation. Their solution was to establish a mint where sterling shillings, sixpence and threepence would be produced at a 22.5% weight reduction from the English standard. This advancement or "crying-up" of Massachusetts Bay coinage would attract silver into the Bay and insure the economic viability of the mint.⁷

The Massachusetts legislature arrived at this unusual number of a 22.5% reduction by revaluing an ounce of sterling silver from the English standard of 62d per troy ounce and simply authorizing it to be valued at the higher rate of 80d per troy ounce when it was in Massachusetts coinage. By using this 80d rate, six grains of sterling would be valued at 1d, allowing the colony to authorize any denomination coin, down to one-halfpenny value and have the authorized weight designated in whole grains with no fractional remainder. In addition to getting more coins per ounce of silver there was another benefit. Since Massachusetts coinage was 22.5% lighter than English coinage, a Massachusetts shilling would only be worth nine-pence farthing (9d1f) in English coin, and in international exchange it was valued at 9d in English sterling. Thus, while the Massachusetts shilling was worth 12d in the colony, it would only be worth 9d elsewhere, which would mean there was an economic incentive to convert silver into Massachusetts coins and a disincentive to export them out of the colony, where their value would drop by 25%.⁸

At the time a Spanish-American eight-reales cob, at 17 pennyweight, traded at 60d (5s) in Massachusetts, which was overvalued by 11%. Since Massachusetts silver was overvalued by 22.5% there was an 11.5% profit in converting Spanish-American silver into Massachusetts Bay coinage. Initially, the mint was authorized to retain 7.5% of this 11.5% profit as their operating fee, while the individual consigning the silver to the mint came away with a 4% profit. Thus, there was an incentive for Massachusetts residents to bring silver to the mint for conversion to Massachusetts coinage; also, the operation would pay for itself, with the mint's operating fee simply coming from part of the profit. For example, 100 eight reales were valued at £25, however, if they were taken to the mint the coins would be transformed into £28 6s8d in Massachusetts Bay silver, yielding the consigner £26 3s2d in coins and allowing Hull £2 3s6d in mint fees. As

7 Chalmers, *History of Currency*, pp. 152-53 quoting the Bermuda Council Minutes "...pieces of Eylet should pass for 4s. per piece for current payment betweene man and man, so they do not appear to be apparent brasse or copper."; Mossman, "The Potosí Scandal," pp. 3289-3309; Jordan, "Coinage," p. 237.

8 Jordan, *John Hull*, pp. 54-63.

time went on, it was realized the mint fees were more than adequate and they were slightly reduced, allowing the consigner a larger share of the profit.⁹

The money during the time of the mint

Once John Hull's mint opened, local merchants would no longer accept heavily clipped or suspicious looking cobs; individuals were expected to trade these items at the mint for NE silver. An intriguing entry is found in a Plymouth probate inventory dated October 29, 1652, just two months after the Hull mint first opened for business in Boston on September 1st. The entry states that £1 6s 9.5d in money was found in the house of the deceased and that the money "was Changed att Boston from bad to better with great losse." This might be our earliest reference to silver being taken to the Hull mint and exchanged for NE coinage. It seems the silver coinage being brought in was heavily clipped Spanish-American silver, which, by weight, had an intrinsic value far below its face value, and thus was exchanged at a loss. Massachusetts Bay silver seems to have been accepted quickly for it soon appears in probate inventories. In the March 5, 1653/4, inventory of the estate of Thomas Trusler of Salem we find listed "in N. E. silver, 10s.; and Spanish money, [4] pc. of 8, 1li." Some English money also still circulated, side-by-side with Massachusetts and Spanish silver, as we see from the Plymouth probate inventory of Sarah Jenny, dated 1656, which lists one piece-of-eight, two half-crowns and seven pence in silver.¹⁰

However, it must be remembered that in Massachusetts Bay, even during the height of the minting operation, not everyone had silver coins and many transactions still involved commodity exchanges. This included transactions between merchant and merchant as well as transactions between merchant and tradesman or farmer. Silver coinage, insofar as it was available, was a desirable alternative to commodity payments and was viewed as a benefit to trade, but it was never available in large enough quantities to replace other methods of exchange. Indeed, in contemporary ledgers the majority of the recorded transactions, even in Boston, included numerous money substitutes. Specie was always in short supply in the colonies.

For example, in Boston on June 15, 1660, John Hull accepted in payment of debts owed to him by John Winthrop, Jr., the Governor of Connecticut, eight and seven-eights bushels of wheat, presumably winter wheat, and then on September 5 ten bushels of summer wheat, and on September 17, two beaver skins. Hull explained that good wheat was worth 4s6d per bushel but this wheat had weevils in it so he could only get 4s3d per bushel and he only was able to get that price by giving the purchaser three months time to make the payment, otherwise the selling price for ready payment would have only been 4s per bushel. Hull then went on to say that rather than sell the beaver, which was inferior, he simply kept it and credited Winthrop's account three or four shillings more than he should have. Massachusetts silver was used in smaller over-the-counter exchanges, which helped to facilitate local retail sales, but it did not supplant the credit-based commodity money economy.

Also, for the acquisition of imports, merchants were expected to rely on any foreign silver and gold they could accumulate, primarily Spanish-American cobs, or on sterling credit made available to them internationally as bills of exchange. Indeed, in 1654, Massachusetts Bay passed laws prohibiting the export of Massachusetts coinage, but the borders could not be adequately patrolled to enforce these regulations. Boston merchants with Massachusetts silver, but without sufficient Spanish-American cobs or appropriate foreign credit to directly purchase foreign

9 Jordan, *John Hull*, pp. 46-53, 64-73 and 167-76.

10 Jordan, "Coinage," pp. 237-39. The reference "and Spanish money, [4] pc. of 8, 1li" refers to four "pieces-of-eight" with a value totaling £1, or 60d (5s) per coin.

goods, were expected to participate in cargo shipping, relying on international exchange. These merchants purchased quantities of local products at wholesale rates, usually in partnership with a few other local businessmen, and then transported the products to foreign ports where they bartered the cargo for regional items that could be brought back home and sold at a profit. For instance, Boston merchants would export native salt cod or wood planks, to another colony, say Barbados, where these items were traded for quantities of sugar, salt or other West Indies commodities that could be brought back to Boston and sold locally for Massachusetts Bay coin. Neither Massachusetts nor Baltimore silver, nor any plan for a mint in seventeenth century colonial British America attempted to address the problem of international exchange. They focused their resources on trying to address, at least partially, the issue of local exchange. Indeed, that is why we continue to find references to individuals having Spanish-American cobs in Massachusetts after the mint opened. Those foreign coins were to be used for purchasing imports.¹¹

Small Change

It should be understood that when the mint opened there was a local coinage situation that the General Court did not address, namely the need for small change. Their first priority was to accelerate economic growth. In Commonwealth-era England shopkeepers provided small change by privately minting their own trade tokens. Initially, during the period of the first mint legislation, Massachusetts Bay also left this situation to be addressed by the private sector. However, small change soon developed into a major problem.

The background to this problem brings us back to the late 1630s when Indian wampum beads became the preferred small change substitute. Indian beads became fairly plentiful after 1635 when Massachusetts Bay began receiving wampum tribute from local Indian tribes. These beads were readily available, low-cost, fungible, and fairly easy to transport in small quantities, but more importantly, wampum had an economic value. Local fur traders needed a continual supply of wampum to stay in business since Indians would not trade furs unless they received some wampum along with other goods in exchange. In the 1630s individuals could barter wampum with local fur traders from nearby inland trading posts as at Merrimack, or from coastal posts as at Richmond Island, for these traders made trips to Boston or other populated areas for supplies. When fur traders came to town they would acquire any excess wampum, usually paying with negotiable merchandise such as furs.

Wampum use increased during the Depression of 1640 but in the following years, during the recovery, as more Spanish-American silver became available, wampum became more inconvenient. As the local beaver population was depleted the fur trade moved further away to the Connecticut Valley. This meant individuals would need to transport excess beads to Springfield or other distant fur trading posts, a less convenient and more expensive proposition. Faced with the lack of a ready market, wampum became viewed as an expensive inconvenience. During the General Court session that opened on May 2, 1649, the legislature ordered that wampum could no longer be used to pay taxes but continued to permit wampum to be used in private exchange. It seems wampum was being devalued at this time, for in the probate estate inventory of John Woody of Roxbury (Suffolk County), dated June 4, 1650, wampum was rated at seven beads per penny rather than the legislated six beads. A few months later, in October 1650, the General Court took the devaluation even further. They continued to allow wampum to be used

11 Jordan, "Coinage," pp. 240-42.

to pay debts up to £2, but the value of the beads was reduced by 25% from six white or three blue per penny to eight white or four blue beads per penny.

After the Hull mint opened in 1652, the public became even less amenable to accepting wampum from merchants as small change than previously, especially if they had paid with silver. In May of 1657 the House of Deputies of the General Court ruled in answer to a petition from the Charlestown ferrymen that passengers could not refuse to accept change of a penny or two in wampum, since the lowest denomination coin minted was the threepence. It seems customers who paid with a Massachusetts threepence wanted coin in return, not wampum. Indeed, it appears that with the exception of ferry rides, wampum was rarely used as small change by the late 1650s; even in the farming communities of Essex County, wampum no longer appears as a small change substitute in probate inventories after 1657. In May of 1661, wampum was demonetized when the legislation of 1643, allowing the continued use of wampum for amounts up to 40s was repealed. In the following year the General Court of May 1662 authorized the minting of the Massachusetts twopence. Thus, one could now make a penny purchase by using a threepence and receiving a twopence coin as change.

Wampum passed out of general use as a small change medium in Boston during the 1660s but remained viable in outlying areas, such as the fur-trading outpost at Springfield. Wampum also continued to be used in New York and New Jersey as well as in Connecticut, with the last recorded use of wampum as a small change money substitute dating from 1704, when Sarah Kemble Knight mentioned its use in New Haven.¹²

The Waning Years

We see that the Massachusetts mint had a critical and expanding role in fulfilling the need for coinage to facilitate local exchange. Over a thirty-year period the mint fulfilled this role. However, international exchange caught up with Massachusetts. Basically, as other colonies developed a more substantial merchant and shopkeeper class they also desired specie. One by one, colonies followed Massachusetts in raising the value of silver. Eventually, by 1670 Montserrat, and then some other islands, raised the value of an eight-reales to 72d (6s). In order to compete for Spanish-American coins in 1672, Massachusetts was forced to raise the value of Spanish-American eight-reales to 72d (6s) from the previous value of 60d (5s). This rated Spanish-American silver at 84d (7s) per troy ounce. Since Massachusetts silver was rated at 80d per troy ounce, anyone would sustain a loss of 4d per ounce for silver brought to the mint. This also meant that there was a greater incentive to smuggle Massachusetts silver out of the Bay colony, since at the advanced rate of 84d per troy ounce a Massachusetts shilling would be equal to 12.7d in Spanish-American silver. Thus, there was a 0.7d advantage in smuggling a shilling out rather than spending it in Massachusetts. However, even with these significant disadvantages some coinage continued to be minted because merchants felt it was worth the premium for the convenience and efficiency of having coins that could be traded without being weighed. During this era the mint dramatically reduced the minting fees and when the final seven-year mint contract expired on June 3, 1682, the mintmasters John Hull and Robert Sanderson did not petition for a renewal.¹³

12 Jordan, "Coinage," pp. 244-54

13 Jordan, *John Hull*, pp. 172-76.

Appendix A

Selections from Edward Johnson, *Historicall Relation of the First Planting of the English in New England in the Year 1628 to the Year 1653 and all the Materiall Passages Happening There* [known by the running headline in the text: *The Wonder-working Providence of Sions Saviour in New England.*]

On the local economy:

...in a very little space, every thing in the country proved a staple-commodity, wheat, rye, oats, peas, barley, beef, pork, fish, butter, cheese, timber, mast, tar, sope, plankboard, frames of houses, clabboard, and pipestaves, iron and lead is like to be also; and those who were formerly forced to fetch most of the bread they eat, and beer they drink, a hundred leagues by Sea, are through the blessing of the Lord so encreased, that they have not only fed their Elder Sisters, Virginia, Barbados, and many of the Summer Islands that were prefer'd before her for fruitfulness, but also the Grandmother of us all, even the firtil Isle of Great Britain, beside Portugal hath had many a mouthful of bread and fish from us, in exchange of their Madeara liquor, and also Spain; nor could it be imagined, that this Wilderness should turn a mart for Merchants in so short a space, Holland, France, Spain, and Portugal coming hither for trade, shipping going on gallantly ... [note: until the Navagation Acts passed in October 1651]

...many a fair ship had her framing and finishing here, besides lesser vessels, barques, and ketches, many a Master, beside common Seamen, had their first learning in this Colony. Boston, Charles-Town, Salem, and Ipswitch, our Maritan Towns began to encrease roundly, especially Boston, the which of a poor country village, in twice [misprint for, thrice] seven years is become like unto a small City, and is in election to be Mayor Town suddainly,* chiefly increased by trade by Sea...

On Boston in 1651:

The chiefe Edifice of this City-like Towne is crowded on the Sea-bankes, and wharfed out with great industry and cost, the buildings beautifull and large, some fairely set forth with Brick, Tile, Stone and Slate, and orderly placed with comly streets, whose continuall inlargement presages some sumptuous City. Good store of Shipping is here yearly built, and some very faire ones: both Tar and Mastes the Countrey affords from its own soile; also store of Victuall both for their owne and Forreiners-ships, who resort hither for that end: this Town is the very Mart of the Land, French, Portugalls and Dutch come hither for Traffique...

*A petition was presented to the General Court in June of 1650 to incorporate Boston as a city with an elected mayor. On June 21 the Court declared that the Boston petitioned would be granted at the next General Court provided the articles, privileges and immunities sought by the corporation were explained and justified. Johnson was a member of the House of Deputies and thus participated in this decision. Johnson's passage was written sometime after the petition was brought forward in June 1650, when incorporation seemed imminent, but before the May 1651 session of the General Court, when the incorporation petition was passed over without comment. It appears many Boston residents preferred to retain a town government with selectmen and open town meetings, thus the required explanation of the proposal to become a "Mayor Town" was not forthcoming; Boston did not become a city until 1822.

On Tradesmen:

...all other trades have here fallen into their ranks and places, to their great advantage; especially Coopers and Shoemakers, who had either of them a Corporation granted [Boston coopers and shoemakers incorporated in October 1648], enriching themselves by their trades very much, Coopers having their plenty of stuff at a cheap rate [i.e. pinstaves], and by reason of trade with foreign parts abundance of work; as for Tanners and Shoemakers, it being naturalized into these occupations, to have a higher reach in managing their manufactures, then other men in N. E. are, having not chang'd their nature in this, between them both they have kept men to their stander hitherto, almost doubling the price of their commodityes, according to the rate they were sold for in England, and yet the plenty of leather is beyond what they had their [there], counting the number of the people [the quantity of leather in America is far higher per capita than it is in England], but the transportation of Boots and Shoes into foreign parts hath vented all however [exports have kept prices high]: as for Tailors, they have not come behind the former, their advantage being in the nurture of new-fashions, all one with England [Tailors also do as well as shoemakers see the related comment on p. 211 stating tailors are employed full-time]; Carpenters, Joyners, Glaziers, Painters, follow their trades only [i.e. full time employment]; Gun-smiths, Lock-smiths, Black-smiths, Naylers, Cutlers, have left the husbandmen to follow the Plow and Cart, and they their trades [i.e. they work full-time in their trade and leave farming to farmers]; Weavers, Brewers, Bakers, Costermongers [those who sell fruit and vegetables and fish from carts], Feltmakers [wool and cloth makers], Braziers [brassworkers], Pewterers, and Tinkers [pot and kettle menders], Ropemakers, Masons, Lime, Brick, and Tilemakers, Cardmakers to work, and not to play [i.e., makers of cards used to comb wool rather than playing cards], Turners [lathe workers], Pumpmakers, and Wheelers, Glovers, Fellmongers [dealers in pelts], and Furriers, are orderly turn'd to their trades, besides divers sorts of Shopkeepers, and some who have a mystery beyond others, as have the Vintners.

A note on the author:

Edward Johnson came to Massachusetts Bay in 1630 with John Winthrop on the *Arbella*. He received a license to trade with the Indians along the Merrimack River and was admitted a freeman in May, 1631. Soon thereafter he returned to England but in the spring of 1636 returned to Massachusetts with his wife Susan, their seven children and three servants. He settled in Charlestown until 1640 when he became a founder of Woburn. Johnson was the first town clerk and once Woburn was incorporated in 1642 he was also one of its selectmen, the captain of its militia and its representative to the General Court.

Appendix B

The Hull Mint

Near this site stood the first mint in the British colonies of North America. Prior to 1652, the Massachusetts financial system was based on bartering and foreign coinage. The scarcity of coin currency was a problem for the growth of the New England economy. On May 27, 1652, the Massachusetts General Court appointed John Hull, a local silversmith, to be Boston's mint master without notifying or seeking permission from the British government. The Hull Mint produced several denominations of silver coinage, including the famous silver pine tree shilling, for over 30 years until the political and economic situation made operating the mint no longer practical.



The dedication ceremony for the Hull Mint historic marker, under the auspices of the Bostonian Society, occurred Friday, November 14, 2008, at 3:30 PM outside the present-day Macy's building at 450 Washington Street in Downtown Crossing. Brian LeMay, of the Bostonian Society, presided. *Photo courtesy of Neil Rothschild.*

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**The Conversion of St. Patrick?
A Second Look at the Episcopal Vestments on the St. Patrick Coinage**
by
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As just about anyone who has ever seriously dealt with the seventeenth-century St. Patrick coinage knows, over the course of the centuries the series has acquired quite a lot of excess baggage thanks to the (occasionally wild) speculations of its various commentators. Participants in the 2006 Coinage of the Americas Conference have challenged a number of these speculative opinions recently.¹ One theory not discussed at the Conference, but worthy of a second look, is the claim that although he was originally a Catholic saint, St. Patrick is depicted wearing the vestments of an Anglican bishop on the coinage named after him. In reviewing the available literature dealing with the St. Patrick coinage, it has proven impossible to find a source for this view earlier than 2002, when Brian Danforth stated that "his [St. Patrick's] attire is Episcopal rather than Roman Catholic,"² without citing any supporting evidence. This position was uncritically accepted in an article by the present author in 2005.³ Most recently, the identification of St. Patrick's attire as distinctly Anglican has been repeated and perhaps overemphasized in *The Whitman Encyclopedia of Colonial and Early American Coins*.⁴

The remarks of early numismatists like John Sharpe, the Archbishop of York (1691-1714) and William Nicolson, the Bishop of Carlisle (1702-1718) and later Derry (1718-1727) give no hint that St. Patrick is dressed in anything but his expected Catholic liturgical attire. As these men were eminently familiar with the vestments of bishops in the Anglican Church, it is unfathomable that they would have failed to notice if the saint was depicted as one of their own. Secular commentators of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries also omit any suggestion that St. Patrick appears as an Anglican bishop. On the other hand, Leake in 1726 and Simon in 1749 almost certainly thought that St. Patrick was dressed as a Catholic churchman since they both attributed the coins to the Catholic Confederacy of Kilkenny during the Irish Rebellion (1641-1653).⁵

From the preceding it seems fairly clear that the identification of St. Patrick's vestments as Anglican is entirely modern. A close look at the image of the saint on the small and large denominations (Figs. 1-2) shows that he wears three distinguishable liturgical vestments: a mitre (bishop's hat) topped by a cross, a cope (long mantle or cloak), and an alb (tunic) tied at the waist with a cincture (girdle). The mitre and cope both appear in Leonard Gaultier's 1619 engraving of St. Patrick (Fig. 3) and can be safely taken to reflect the dress of a contemporary Catholic bishop. Only the cross on St. Patrick's mitre and the alb with cincture cannot be traced back to Gaultier's iconographic model. The latter wears a surplice or rochet (another shorter and often more elaborate form of liturgical tunic) over a cassock (robe). However, there is no doubt that crosses were features of Catholic mitres or that Catholic bishops could wear the alb with cincture. In the seventeenth century, a mitre with cross finials appears in the coat of arms of Catholic cities like

1 See now, O. Hoover ed. *Newby's St. Patrick Coinage* (New York, 2009).

2 B. Danforth, "St. Patrick Coinage," *CNL* 121, p. 2372.

3 O. Hoover, "A Note on the Typology of the St. Patrick Coinage in its Restoration Context," *AJN* 16-17 (2004-2005), p. 199.

4 Q. David Bowers, *Whitman Encyclopedia of Colonial and Early American Coins* (Atlanta, 2009), p. 280.

5 A. Smith, "On the Copper Coins Commonly Called St. Patrick's," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Kilkenny and South-eastern Archaeological Society* 3 (1854-1855), 1-10; J. Simon, *An Essay towards an Historical Account of Irish Coins and of the Currency of Foreign Coins in Ireland* (Dublin, 1749), p. 48.

German Breslau and Sitten, as well as of Olmütz in Bohemia (Fig. 4) while the alb was also traditional Catholic vestment. It is true that the Act of Uniformity (1559) promulgated by Queen Elizabeth I explicitly retained the use of the alb, cope, and surplice for the Church of England while eschewing many other liturgical vestments, but this is hardly a compelling basis for identifying these garments worn by St. Patrick as Anglican. Admittedly, Catholic bishop-saints most commonly wear the surplice or rochet over a cassock rather than the alb and cincture in seventeenth-century numismatic depictions (Fig. 5), but this should not be taken as evidence of Anglican iconographic influence on the St. Patrick coins. Eighteenth-century Catholic artworks such as Giovanni Battista Tiepolo's "The Miracle of St. Patrick" (c. 1746) depict St. Patrick wearing alb and cincture (Fig. 6), while one variety of the small denomination St. Patrick coin (Fig. 7) may suggest that the engraver was unclear about precisely which vestments he was depicting. Here the saint appears to wear a surplice terminating in a typical lace or embroidered border just below the knees, but the garment is bound at the waist as if by the usual cincture, despite the fact that it was not customary to wear the surplice with a cincture. It is interesting to note that this unusual combination of surplice and cincture reappears in a depiction of St. Patrick on ceramic jugs produced in Belfast during the 1780s (Fig. 8). It may be that the St. Patrick coins served as the iconographic model.

It would seem that St. Patrick is most likely depicted on the coinage dressed as a Catholic bishop, but this leaves the question open as to why Danforth claimed Anglican dress for the saint, since he is not likely to have invented it out of whole cloth. Although it has not been possible to confirm, we suspect that the basis for Danforth's statement probably lies in a distinctly American misunderstanding of John Sharpe's remarks on the St. Patrick's coinage. When describing the small denomination, Sharpe referred to "St. Patrick in his Episcopal habit with Crosier." This same description was carried by Michael Hodder in 1987, but with Sharpe's extraneous capitalization (typical of the eighteenth century) removed in accordance with modern orthography.⁶ "Episcopal" became "episcopal" and "Crosier" became "crosier". What seems to have happened is that because of its original capitalization, Danforth erroneously took Sharpe's "Episcopal" as an indicator of religious denomination rather than as a simple description of the saint's attire as being that of a bishop.⁷ Since 1789 the Anglican Church has been represented in the United States by the distinct Episcopal Church in the United States of America, which derives its name and ultimate origin from the nonjuring Episcopal Church of Scotland (c. 1689-1800), but is in full communion with the Church of England.⁸ The latter had been disestablished in Virginia, Maryland, Georgia, the Carolinas, and several New York counties during the American Revolution because of its connection to the hated British monarchy.⁹ As the terms "Episcopalian" and "Anglican" are virtually equivalent in modern American usage, one can see how Danforth could have misunderstood Sharpe's description. However, the Church of England is not normally called the Episcopal Church in English parlance and the Episcopal Churches of Scotland and the United States were not formed until well after the St. Patrick coinage was struck.¹⁰ It would have been anachronistic for Sharpe to refer to an Episcopal Church when he wrote in 1697. Besides, if he had intended to draw attention to St. Patrick's supposed depiction

6 M.J. Hodder, "The St. Patrick Token Coinage: A Re-evaluation of the Evidence," *CNL* 77, p. 1017.

7 The English word "bishop" ultimately derives from Latin *episcopus* meaning "one who oversees." The English adjective "episcopal" comes more directly from the Latin and can refer to anything appropriate to a bishop.

8 D. Holmes, *A Brief History of the Episcopal Church* (Harrisburg, 1993), pp. 50-56.

9 R.M. Calhoon, "The Impact of the Revolution on Church and State," in J.P. Greene and J.R. Poole, eds. *A Companion to the American Revolution* (Malden, 2000), pp. 444-46.

10 Small St. Patrick coins from the wreck of the yacht *Mary* show that they must have been struck before 1675, the year that this boat sank. See M. Dolley and M. Warhurst, "New Evidence for the Date of the So-called 'St. Patrick's' Halfpence and Farthings," *Irish Numismatics* (September-October 1977), 161-163; Danforth, p. 2373.

as bishop of the Church of England, surely Sharpe would have described him as wearing an “Anglican” rather than an “Episcopal” habit.

Despite Danforth’s mistaken conversion of St. Patrick to Anglicanism, it is important to realize that the depiction of the saint in the traditional (sc. post Council of Trent) dress of a Catholic bishop does not preclude the possibility of the saint’s use for Protestant political purposes in Ireland. Somewhat ironically, despite his obvious appeal of St. Patrick as a national patron of the Catholic majority in Ireland, by the eighteenth century he was increasingly appropriated as a symbol of the Protestant Ascendancy, which concentrated political and economic power in the hands of Irish Protestants while disenfranchising Irish Catholics.¹¹ As the historical Patrick had been an inhabitant of northwestern England enslaved by Irish pirates and who ultimately converted much of Ireland to Christianity in the fifth century AD, he was sometimes presented as a proto-Protestant Englishman bringing civilization to the “savage” Irish.¹² While it is uncertain whether this bigoted allegorical interpretation of St. Patrick’s conversion of the Irish can be projected back to the seventeenth century, when the St. Patrick coins were produced, it is clear that the saint could be put to Protestant uses despite his Catholic background. Thus, even though the saint depicted on the coins is dressed in the manner of a Catholic bishop, this fact of iconography cannot guarantee the politico-religious affiliation of those responsible for producing them.

Acknowledgement

The author is grateful to Louis Jordan and Philip Mossman for commenting on an earlier draft of this paper.

11 B. McCormack, *Perceptions of Saint Patrick in Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin, 2000), pp. 55-68.

12 McCormack, p. 86.

Illustrations

Fig. 1: Small St. Patrick copper denomination (“farthing”) depicting the saint in full dress of a bishop, including mitre topped with cross finials, cope, and alb with cincture. [Shown enlarged.]
Courtesy of Stack's Rare Coins.



Fig. 2: Large St. Patrick copper denomination (“halfpenny”) depicting the saint in full dress of a bishop, including mitre topped with cross finials, cope, and alb with cincture. [Shown enlarged.]
Accession number 1945.42.634. *Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.*



S. PATRICIVS HIBERNIÆ APOSTOLVS
Claruit Anno Domini CCCCLVIII.

T. Messingham fecit

Fig. 3. Engraving of St. Patrick (1619) by Leonard Gaultier depicting the saint in full dress of a Catholic bishop, including mitre, cope, and surplice or rochet over cassock. From Thomas Messingham's *Florilegium Insulae Sanctorum* (Paris, 1624).



Fig. 4. Silver reichstaler of Olmütz (1695) under Prince-Bishop Karl II von Lichtenstein-Kastelkorn (1664-1695) depicting arms including a bishop's mitre with cross finials. [Shown actual size.] Künker Auction 138, 11 March 2008, lot 6134.



Fig. 5. Silver taler of Luzern (1622) depicting St. Leodigar in full dress of a Catholic bishop, including mitre, cope, and surplice or rochet over cassock. [Shown actual size.] Künker Auction 115, 25 September 2006, lot 1469.



Fig. 6. The Miracle of St. Patrick (c. 1746) by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo depicting the saint wearing cope and alb with cincture. Museo Civico, Padua. From Bridget McCormack, *Perceptions of St Patrick in Eighteenth Century Ireland* (Dublin, 2000), Fig. 5.



Fig. 7. Small St. Patrick copper denomination ("farthing") with apparent fringe of surplice or rochet visible just below the knee. [Shown enlarged.] Accession number 1945.42.630. Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.



Fig. 8. Porcelain jug produced in Belfast (c. 1780s) depicting St. Patrick in full dress of a bishop, including mitre, cope, surplice or rochet over cassock, and cincture. From Bridget McCormack, *Perceptions of St Patrick in Eighteenth Century Ireland* (Dublin, 2000), Fig. 3.

